1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

566
621

ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social conciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

624
178

After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624
178

extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Weiyuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the sub-prefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Xienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchou. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of T'ient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.[48]

---

the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O. L.

[48] This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O. L.

[P.61a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624
178 He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

651 The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village

[P.616]

624 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief
565 of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify
565 the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in under-
624 mining the influence and power formerly wielded by the nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

[P. 68a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

565 178 558 621

Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 178

We may summarize this aspect of the social history of the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinctions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

565 178 576

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175

In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

[P.68-b]

/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

> Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./
>
> A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., oursiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M [614] M 582 605 171

/20 cont'd/
584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it,
178 and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

/35 cont'd/

[584] goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten [583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585] [178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/92 cont'd/

587 177 583 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 178 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied." Thus Tibetan
178 customs.

608 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
[177] husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/121 cont'd/

608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

"Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/128 cont'd/

858 588 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses [128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 792 178 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 588 593 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though
[178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or
[177 178] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the
778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzañ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances,
[177] the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[50 cont.]

Details

777
*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

[411]
[171]

2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

[178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[24]

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
[792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-
[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound.
[178] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 782 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, recently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and manifolags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

[824] The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the [178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[64 cont.]

*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

782 [178] Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions [621] concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[66 cont.]

782 [533] Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 782 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too [541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the [533] mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races, [439] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, [526] and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear [178] throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse [541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain- [533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[191] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

*778
776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782]
[825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[640 cont.]

764
602

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the
602 death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
604 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273]
[178]
[171]
[212]

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[644 cont.]

764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

[778] [775]

764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

[792]

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

[178]

18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

764
372
[178]

[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

[792]

764
372
792

Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

764

Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[647 cont.]

765
[769]
[777]

[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

[177]

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

[782]

[178]

765
784
[574]
[796]
[262]

Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

782 [822 cont.]

241
114

[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

241
782

The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

[756]
[535]
[443]

241
782
756
754

The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[824 cont.]
241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[242] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[841 cont.]
778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
[783] hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
• [178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulon the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

3: Schröder--252 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 A89 Monguor AE9

[841 cont.]

778
825

[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

[554]
[492]

[435]

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

[782]

[253 cont.]

791 779 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic [765 534] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female [174] person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone, the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between 178 791 779 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 791 779 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance. The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

During five centuries the Monguors bore with fortitude the vicissitudes of very hard times, fighting inroads of brigands and revolts of tribes, always on the warpath in their own country and in far-off provinces. A strong factor in buoying their courage was the tie of the clan, which bound them close together in one family, with a t'u-ssu as head of the family. 175x

The appreciation and estimation of their heroic achievements by the emperor and local high officials, the building of Honorific Arches, the favor of official burials and sacrifices, the granting of titles, the names of their chiefs recorded in the City Hall of faithful and meritorious officials, the reports sent to the emperor about their valorous performances, the thankfulness of the Chinese who erected steles to glorify them, were so many stimuli for the Monguors which made life worth living and brought happiness in the clan and in the families. 182

The last news we have about the Huangchung Monguors is that the Monguor clans are broken up, the t'u-ssu regime is abolished, the ladies are forbidden to wear their distinctive clothes and headdress, the use of their language is prohibited, in every village a school is organized with teachers of the new ideology. Monguors and their wives are enlisted with the Chinese men and women in working groups. The aim is to obliterate the Monguor nation and mix it in the Chinese nation. In a few years from now the Monguors will have disappeared. 178

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N 563 M 614 622 178 177 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a M [171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bilks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bük), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The N 563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made 175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-M 175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan 177 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-614 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol 622 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge